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ACTION OFFICE CH-85

IMFO 1-65 TC-61 P-61 RA-61 LAR-61 UN-81 EAP-65 /826 A3 DDX

10-18 ADS-88 IMR-87 EUR-88 SS-88 OIC-82 CIAE-88
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0 22#1122 Jun 19 25f4 FH AMEMBASSY BEILING TO SECSIATE WASHING DINCT INTEGRAL OF USIA VASHOC INMEDIATE 4551 THEO AMERICASSY TOKYO JUDIE YEZABHINA MODERN YZZABIJEN AMENIAS SY LONDON ATEMASSY PARIS FHENBASSY BANGKOX 842Z ATICOREUL MONG KONG INNEDIATE ATT TAIPED INNEDIATE USCINCTAC MONOLUCE NI INHEDIATE ANCONSUL GUANGINOW INNEDIATE AMCONSUL SHANGHAI INNEDIATE AMCONSUL SHENYANG IMMEDIATE DIA WASHOC INVESTATE



CONFIDENTIAL BEIJING 16246

MSC FOR DOUG PAUL

ANCONSUL CHENCOU POUCH)

CINCPAC FOR FPA

E.O. 12356: DECLIDADE TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, SOCI, CH SUBJECT: MEAT HAPPINED ON THE HIGHT OF JUNE 3/47

I. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

CT_INTRODUCTION:

FORCOS EMPLOYED MAXIMUM RESTRAINT IN MOVING INTO THE COTT CENTER, CHLY FIRING WHEN THREATENED BY GROUPS OF YIGLENT "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES." OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS NATURALLY STRESS THE VIOLENCE WITH WHICH GROUPS OF

CITIZENS ATTACKED AND/OR KILLED SOLDIERS.

J. WE IN THE FOLLOWING MARRATIVE AND CHRONOLOGY, THE EMBASSY ATTEMPTS TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT. OUR MARRATIVE IS BASED ON EYEVITHESS ACCOUNTS OF EMBOFFS, LESTERN BEPLOMATS, WESTERN REPORTERS AND AMERICAN STUDENTS PRESENT ON OR MEAR FIRMANMEN SQUARE, AND ON CREDIBLE SECOND MAND INFORMATION. WE CONCLUDE THAT, GONTRARY TO A NUMBER OF EARLY VESTERN PRESS ACCOUNTS, THE MASSACRE TOOK PLACE ON CHANGAN AVENUE AND DIMER OF BELLING'S HAIN THOROUGHFARES RATHER THAN IN TIAMANMEN SQUARE ITSELF. MANY -- IF NOT MOST -- OF THE DEATHS OCCURRED AS THE MILITARY MOVED TOWARD THE

BEIJIN 16846 BE OF BS 2781572 SOURCE FROM THE VEST.

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4. THE PLA DID NOT FIRE DIRECTLY ON STUDENTS GATHERED AROUND THE HARTYRS DECRUMENT ON THANHMEN SQUARE. TROOPS BEAT, AND PROBERTY MILLED SOME STUDENTS AFTER THEY EXITED THE SQUARE, NOWEVER. OTHER STUDENTS MINO FACED OFF TROOPS IN THE STREETS AROUND THE SQUARE WERE SHOT. MANY MEMBERS OF THE CROWDS ATTEMPTING TO SLOW THE PLA ADVANCE THREW BRICKS AND STONES AT SOLDIERS AND SEAT AND/OR MILLED A NUMBER OF THEM. BUT GIVEN THE PREPONDERANCE OF FORCE ON THE MILITARY SIDE, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT MILITARY CASUALTIES EXCEEDED THOSE ON THE CIVILIAN SIDE. CIVILIAN BEATHS PROBABLY DID NOT REACH THE FIGURE OF 3, 888 USED IN SOME PRESS ACCOUNTS, BST THEY SURELY FAR OUTHWHERED OFFICIAL FIGURES.

5. IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND THAT WHATEVER THE CASUALTY FIGURES, WHATEVER THE DECUPATION OF THE CIVILIANS WHO VERE KILLED, AND BEVEVER VIOLENT SOME MEMBERS OF THE CROVD MAY BAVE RECOME, THE ORDER TO MOVE HEAVILY KINED TROOPS ON TIANAHHEN WAS CYNICAL AND INBUMANE.

ENC INTRODUCTION.

G. ACT PRECIS OF EVENTS: THE MAIN HILLITARY THRUST THAT RIGHT CAME FROM THE WEST. LARGE CROUDS ENGAGED IN PITCHED BATTLES WITH ARMED TROOPS AND ARMORED COLUMNS AT MAJOR INTERSECTIONS ALONG FUXING AND CHAMGAM AVENUES. THESE CLASHES LED TO HIGH CIVILIAN CASUALTIES AS TROOPS FIRED DIRECTLY AT BEILING

- 7. IC) SOLDIERS IN AN ARMORED COLUMN OF TANKS AND APC'S THAT ENTERED TIANAMMEN FROM THE EAST AFTER (48) JUNE 4 ALSO FIRED INDISCRIMINATELY AT CROWDS ALONG THE ROUTE.

 3. BATTLES RETVEEN FROOPS AND CITTIZENS ALSO APPARENTLY TOOK PLACE SOUTH OF TEANAMMEN SQUARE, PROBABLY AT THE CHONGWENNEN INTERSECTIONS AND ALONG QUANNEN AVENUE. WE HAVE ALSO NEARD OF REAMY FIGHTING IN THE DAZHALAM DISTRICT, JUST SOUTH OF GRANKEN. WE HAVE NO WESTERN EYEVITHESS ACCOUNTS OF THE EVENTS AT CHONGWENNEN, QUANNEN AVENUE, AND DAZHALAM, NOWEYER.
- E. C) CASUALTIES ALSO OCCURRED IN THE TIANAMMEN AREA AFTER TROOPS AND ARMOR ARRIVED OF TYPE NORTH END OF THE SQUARE SCHETIME BETWEEN 8133 AND 9288, JUNE 4. MERE, CROUDS ON CHANGAN AVENUE ON THE MORTHEAST SIDE OF THE SQUARE FACED OFF TROOPS WHO HAD ENTERED FROM THE NORTHWEST. TROOPS FIRED DIRECTLY AT THIS CROWD TRROUGHOUT THE MORTHING BETWEEN THANAMMEN SQUARE AND THE BEIJING NOTEL.
- 9. IC) THE BATTLES RAGED AROUND THE SQUARE MATHER THAN ON IT. WITNESSES PRESENT AT THE MARTYRS MONUMENT DESCRIBE AN EERIE LACK OF ACTION ON THE SQUARE PROPER DURING THE SHOOTING IN THE STREETS. WE HAVE HEARD NO ACCOUNTS OF SOLDIERS FIRING DIRECTLY AT STUDENTS CROWDED AROUND THE MARTYRS MONUMENT ON THE SQUARE. EYEMSTMESSES ALSO STATE THAT, AS FAR AS THEY COULD TELL, NO STUDENTS WERE PRESENT IN THE TENTS

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PACE 82 OF 83 BEIJIN 16446 BE OF 85 2281522 WHICH APC'S BOLLED OVER AS THEY ENTERED THE SOURCE PROPER REFORE SUN RISE ON JUNE 4. THE FEVERAL THOUSAND STUDENTS WAS REMAINED AT THE INCHUMENT DEPARTED THE SOURCE VIA THE SOUTHEAST CORNER BEGINNING AT ABOUT 8588, JUNE 4.

18. ACJ EYEMITMESS ACCOUNTS OF WHAT MAPPENED TO THE STUDENTS ONCE TWEY LEFT ARE FEV. VESTERN JOURNALISTS WHO WERE PRESENT OR MHO HEARD FROM EYEWITMESSES AGREE THAT STUDENTS DEPARTED VIA THE SOUTHEAST CORMER OF THE SQUARE ONTO GIAMMEN AYENUE. THEY THERE SPLIT INTO GROUPS, SOME OF WHICH TRAYELLED EAST, SOME WEST.

11. 4CJ JOURNACISTS PRESERT ON THE SQUARE AT THIS THE STATE THAT POLICE OR PLA TROOPS IN RIOT GEA BEAT SOME OF THE BEPARTING STUDENTS. AN EYEVITHESS TOLD AN AMERICAN JOURNALIST THAT TAMES MOVING WEST ON CHARGAN AVENUE RAN OVER AND KILLED ABOUT TEN STUDENTS WHO MARCHED WEST FROM THE SQUARE AND THEN NORTH TO THE VICINITY OF THE SELJING CONCERT HALL. THE EYEVITHESS TOLD THE JOURNALIST THAT SOLDIERS SHOT AND KILLED AT LEAST ONE OF THE STUDENTS ACCOMPANYING THOSE WHO WERE BUN OVER BY THE TAMES.

12. CC) CASUALTIES: WE HAY NEVER KNOW PRECISELY NOW MANY TROOPS AND CIVIL IAMS DIED OR WERE INJURED ON THE RIGHT OF JUNE 1/4 AND IN FOLLOWING DAYS. THE TRUE FIGURE IS PROBABLY OVER ONE THOUSAND; NOT OVER ONE BUMDRED, AS CRIBESE OFFICIALS CLAIM. SOON AFTER THE MASSACRE, THE KYGOD NEWS SERVICE REPORTED THAT THE CHINESE RED CROSS GAVE A FIGURE OF 2,638 HILLITARY AND CIVILIAN SEATHS WITH 7,868 ON BOTH SIDES MOUNDED, BASED ON A CAMPASS OF BEIJING HOSPITALS. DNOTE: THESE DEATHS WERE RECORDED IN HOSPITALS AND REPORTEDLY DO NOT INCLUDE DEATHS ON THE STREET. END NOTE.) BEIJING BASED JAPANESE, DIPLOMATS FIND THE KYGOO SOURCE CREDIBLE AND THE ESTIMATE CONVINCING.

GUR DAG BELIEVES THAT THIS IS NOT AN UNREASCHARLE ESTIMATE, GIVEN THE MATURE OF THE CONFLICT AND THE MEAPONS USED BY THE PLA.

13. CO OFFICIAL CASUALTY STATISTICS DIFFER MARKEDLY FROM THIS, BUT THEY ARE CONTRADICTORY. AT A JUNE 7 PRESS COMFERENCE, STATE COUNCIL SPONESHAM YUAN MU STATED THAT TOTAL DEATHS OF TROOPS AND CIVILIANS MUNBERED "AROUND 388 PEOPLE." - ACCORDING TO YUAN, "OVER 5,898 TROOPS" SUFFERED INJURIES, VITN "OVER 7,888" CIVILIANS INJURED. ROWEVER, A JUNE 14 XINHUM RELEASE REPORTED THAT THEARLY 188 SOLDIERS AND POLICEMEN WERE MOUNCED." "SOME 108 CIVILIANS WERE FULLED AND MEARLY 1,888 WERE INJURED," ACCORDING TO XINHUM.

14. BEIJING MOSPITALS HAVE BEEN WHALLING TO DISCUSS CASUALTY FIGURES. (HROFFS VISITING THREE WOSPITALS ON THE AFTERNOON OF JUNE 4 VITNESSED OR WERE TOLD OF A TOTAL OF 88 CIVILIAN DEAD AT THESE THREE ROSPITALS RUCKE. ARONG THE DEAD WERE WOMEN AND AT LEAST ONE CHILD. A WESTERN JOURNALIST WHO VISITED SEVEN MOSPITALS. BETWEEN JUNE 4 AND JUNE 7, INCLUDING THOSE VISITED BY EMBOFFS, WAS TOLD OF 156 CIVILIAN DEATHS AT THESE ROSPITALS. THESE FIGURES ARE RECESSARILY LOW, GIVEN OUR THABILITY TO VISIT HOSPITALS

15. IC) STUDENT DEATHS: AT HIS JUNE 7 PRESS

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BEIJIN 15846 BE OF 85 2281522 CONFERENCE, YUAN MU CLAIMED THAT AS OF THAT DAY, ONLY 23 SEILING STUDENTS HAD DIED AS A RESULT OF THE HILLITARY HOVEMENT ON THE CITY'S CENTER. HE SAID THAT THIS FIGURE RESULTED FROM INVESTIGATIONS AT LOCAL UNIVERSITIES. VESTERN JOURNALISTS AND HAVE VISITED HAJOR BEIJING CAMPUSES HAVE FOUND THAT ETUDENT SOURCES CAN CONFIRM BY NAME THE DEATHS OF ONLY 3-LE STUDENTS AT EACH OF SEVERAL MAJOR UNIVERSITIES, BUT A VESTERN ACADENIC VAS TOLD BY PROFESSORS THAT A LARGER NUMBER OF STUDENTS ARE STILL UNACCOUNTED FOR ME.G., 17 EACH AT BEIDING AND GINGRYS UNIVERSITIES). THE MINIE COUNCIL HAS RELEASED NO FIGURES ON THE DEATHS OF STUDENTS IND FROM UNIVERSITIES CUTSICE THE CAPITAL. THE NON-BEILING STUDENTS FORKED THE NAJORITY OF STUDENT BENCHSTRATORS IN THE SQUARE ITSELF BY JUNE 1.

16. AND BELOW IS A CHRONOLOGY OF THE EVENTS OF THE MIGHT OF JUNE 3/4. BEGIN CHRONOLOGY:

JUNE 3

2966

2535

1588 LARGE CROUDS OF BEIJING CITIZENS AROUND
THARACKEN SQUARE; SEVERAL THOUSAND UNARMED
PLA TROOPS HERMED IN BY CROUDS AT WEST GATE
OF GREAT NALL OF THE PEOPLE (GPOP)

1588 VIOLENCE FLARES AT XINEUANEN COUTH

ENTRANCE TO ZHONGHANHAII AS TROOPS GUARDING

GATE FIRE INTO AIR AND BEAT SOME

DEMONSTRATORS WITH BELTS

PLA TROOPS FIRE ON CROSE SURROUNDING TROOP
TRUCKS AT MUXIDI, NEAR FUXINGNEN; BUNBER
OF CASUALTIES UNKNOWN

CROWDS ENCIRCLE CORVAY OF 18-30 TRUCKS

BEARING ARMED TROOPS AT JIAKGUCHEN AND AND THIRD RING ROAD, THIS SCENE REPEATED ON HALGR INTERSECTIONS SURROUNDING CITY

TROOPS AT WEST GATE OF CHOP RETREAT INSIDE

2788 TROOFS ON TRUCKS AT YAMJING MOTEL, BETWEEN
- MUXIDI AND FUXINGMEN, FIRE ON CRONDS IN
- STREET, CASUALTIES UNKNOWN

ARKED PLA TROOPS IN TRUCKS SURFOUNDED BY CROVDS IN FRONT OF BEILING NOTEL

JUKE 4

2399

BUS BLOCKADE AT FUXINGTEN BURNE, PLA FIRES ON CRONDS, COLUMN OF APC'S APPEDACHES FUXINGTEN, AT LEAST 38 VASUALTIES REPORTED REPORTED AT OHIS SITE

POLICE OR TROOPS IN RIOT CEAR WITE SNIELDS ENGAGE IM PITCHED BATTLE VITH CROVD OF OVER 18, POR PEOPLE IM FRONT OF MINZU NOTEL; CROVD COMPOSED OF PEOPLE OF ALL AGES AND SEXES; THEY JEER AT RIOT POLICE, SOME THROY BRICKS AND STONES, RIOT FOLICE RESPOND WITH SMALL ARKS FIRE AROVE CROVD AND TERR CAS

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PAGE B	3 OF #3 BECJIN 16846 88 OF #5 22#152Z 2126	2201411	PAGE 81 BEIJIN 16846 88 OF 85 228152Z 2126	5508493
•	SEXES; THEY JEER AT RIOT POLICE, SOME		<i>'</i>	,
_	THROW BRICKS AND STONES, RIDT POLICE RESPOND WITH SHALL ARMS FIRE ABOVE CROWD		MSBB-; STUDENTS BEGIN TO LEAVE HOWINERT FOR	
	AND TEAR GAS		9538 SOUTHEAST END OF SQUARE AND EXIT FROM THERE	
1	MIN TEN BEJ		- ONTO GIANNEN AVENUE; SOME MOVE EAST, DINERS	
	CROUD BISPERSES AS INFANTRY LINE AVENUE TO		vest.	
•	RECURE LAME FOR APPROACHING APC'S: DEMERT		/	
	OF CROWD STILL LINENG AVENUE THROW ROCKS		8588 TANKS ENTER TIANAHEN SQUARE FROM SQUEN	
•	AND FIRE BONES, INFANTRY RESPONDS WITH		/ "GOODESE OF LIBERTY" STATUS IS ASSET	
-	BIRECT FIRE; CASUALTIES WITHESSED, BUT		#518 -GOODESE OF LIBERTY- STATUE IS DOWN	
-	HUNKERS UKKNOW			
1			### TROOP TRUCKS ENTERS TIRKAMEN FROM THE	
1154-	FIRST TWO APC'S ENTER VICINITY OF TRANSMEN		- EAST; ELEMENTS OF THIS COLUMN FIRE NEAVILY	
4638	SOUARE		- AND INDISCRIMINATELY AT CROWDS GATHERED	
1			- ALONG CHANGAN AVENUE	
91.99	DEMONSTRATORS SET AFIRE ONE APC HORTH OF		, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	
-	SQUARE ON CHANGAN AVENUE; FIRST OFFICIAL		HEAS LAST STUDENTS DEPART SQUARE, SQUE BEATEN BY	
-	WARNINGS TO LEAVE SOUARE BROADCAST OVER		- IROOPS IN RIOT GEAR	
•	TRAMAMMEM PA SYSTEM; COLUMN OF APC'S		/	•
-	FROM WEST PASSES ZHONGHANNAI		9628 ANOTHER ARRORED COLUMN ENTERS TRANSMIEN	
/	•		- FROM THE EAST; ITS TROOPS ALSO FIRE	
915#	INFANTRY MEADING FOR SQUARE PASSES NORTH		- INDISCREMENATELY AT CROVOS	
•	GATE OF GROP, FIRES BIRECTLY ON LARGE CROVO		/	
•	GATHERED ON CHANGAN AVENUE NORTH OF SOUARE;		9650 APPROXIMATELY 35 TAMES ENTER SQUARE	•
•	CROWD RETREATS EAST, MANY CASUALTIES		/	
-	REPORTED, BUT HUNSERS UNKNOWN		1825- FOUR SEPARATE INCIDENTS OF INDISCRIMINATE	
/			1210 FIRE ON CROWDS IN FRONT OF BEILING MOTEL;	
8788	HAJORITY OF STUDENTS REMAINING AT SOURCE		- AT LEAST SE CIVILIAN CASUALTIES	
•	GATHER AT BASE OF MARTYRS MONUMENT, EMBOFF		1	
•	ESTIMATES THEIR MUMBER AT 5, 808; RELIABLE		END CHRONOLOGY,	
-	WESTERN BIPLOMAT WITHESSES "HANY"		,	
-	DEMONSTRATORS WITH SEVERT HEAD AND CHEST		17. NOTE: SPORADIC KILLING CONTINUED AT LEAST	
•	HOUNGE CARRIED OFF CHANGNAN AVENUE		THROUGH WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6. WE HAVE BEARD NUMEROUS	
/ 6214			FIRST AND SECOND-HAND REPORTS OF SOLDIERS FIRING ON	
0210	TSUICIDE BUST MEADS WEST ON CHANGAN FOR		GROUPS OF STUDENTS AND OTHER CITIZENS WHO EXPRESSED	
,	APPROACHING ARMOR COLUMN		OPPOSITION TO THE CRACKDOWN. LILLEY	
#340	THAT PLANET MEAN ATTACH OF A			
->=0	STUDENTS REQUEST MEGOT-ATIONS WITH, PLA;		HOTE: (**) OMISSION PARA, 7 AND 13, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.	
_	ARMEN INFANTRY ENTERS SOURCE FROM SOUTHWEST TO ENTER GROP: THEY ARE JEERED BY			
	CROYOS			
,	And the		- A.	
9338-	STUDENTS WOTE TO LEAVE SQUARE			
	The state of the same			
\$430				:
1	•			
84.86	SEVERAL THOUSAND ARISED PLA TROOPS APPEAR ON			
-	EAST STEPS OF GHOP, THEIR BAYDNETS			
-	FIXED: PLA OR PEOPLE'S ARMED POLICE UNITS			
-	ALSO APPEAR ON STEPS OF HISTORY MUSEUM			
•	SWALD ALLK LEANCHEONZ			
/				
-	STANDZ MEMBARAIT NO THO ZINGES			
1				
#438 -	APC'S THAT ENTERED FROM THE VEST HOW LINED			
8445	UP AT THE CATE OF MEANING W STACE CARRIES			

#438 TROOPS OR POLICE IN RIOT GEAR APPEAR WITHIN GROUNDS OF NAD HAUSOLEUM, SOUTE OF KONUMENT

OF SQUARE: COULD HAVE COME FROM CHOHQUERNEN AREA, UMERC HEAVY FIGHTING AND HANT CASUALTIES WERE LATER REPORTED

UP AT THE GATE OF HEAVENLY PEACE FACING SOUTH; TREY BEGIN TO MOVE INTO THE SOUARE PROPER, HUMHING GYER STUDENT TENTS

SOUND OF MEANY FIRE REPORTED FROM SOUTHEAST